/174 cont./

624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/212 cont./
guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers -- which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this, for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries who are basically powerless and without standing and where the young people, through the influences of the living conditions of the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953, that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden. He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the síndico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen; he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/213 cont./

682 623 182 to Inzá by two members of the cabildo of San Andrés, friends and relatives, as well as members of his own family, slipped him a few coins so that he would be able to buy himself food in prison. His guards did not prevent anyone from doing this, and in general the feeling for the murderer was commiserating, but not unfavorable.

623 692 [681] [697] The punishments inflicted in Calderas by the cabildo are always floggings. In earlier times they were very rigorously carried out. There is no imprisonment. Today the cabildo judges only social misdeeds, debtors, and the theft of field crops, a chicken, or a sheep. Horse and cattle theft goes to the court in Inzá for punishment. The injured one himself may not punish the malefactor -- not even if caught red-handed - but must report everything to the cabildo. There the capitan and gobernador are the judges. [693] [624] The other members of the cabildo must likewise be present, but they have no vote. The sentence is very quickly passed. The malefactor is locked into one of the two rooms of the community house, and the trial takes place on the next day at the latest. The punishments are fixed. They consist of lashes with the whip, which are increased for repetition. Thus, the thief receives ten lashes the first time, 20 the second time, and 30 lashes the third time; in case of further lapses he is shackled in the tree trunk. The theft of a sheep is punished with ten lashes and the replacement or giving up of the stolen object. If the accused protests, a house search is carried out with a member of the cabildo. If nothing is found, he must be set free again.

623 685 692

426 Loans up to ten pesos are given without security; beyond that the creditor is given a cow, a horse, a pig, wheat, or sugar cane as security. Loans are given only up to a year, so that the matter is not forgotten. Interest is not charged. If the debtor is unable to pay, a definite term is /214/ set for him; if he does not pay then, the lapse is reported to the cabildo, which punishes the offender with the whip. Denial is useless, for every loan transaction is concluded only before witnesses. If the debtor dies, the claims of the creditor are taken from his estate, for example, a machete, coca bag, or clothing. One may also ask relatives, for example brothers, to settle the debt. They are not obliged to repay it,

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguex* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left.

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings.

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred.

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguex* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as yacuna and chundar, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast.